RED HUNT IN MIAMI BY LESLIE B. BAIN

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

August 7, 1954
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Must Germany Be Armed?

Alternatives to E. D. C.

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

"Sick" Coal and Hungry Men

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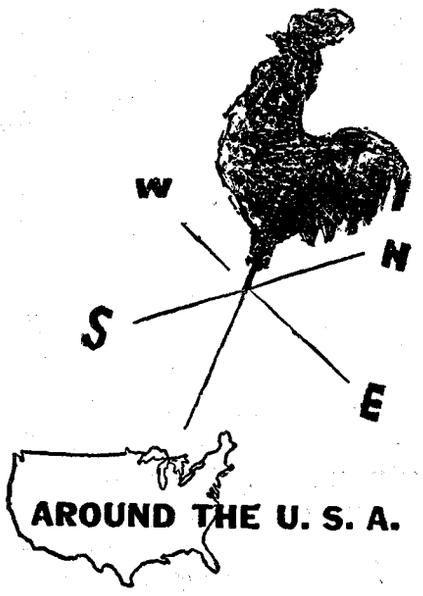

Echoes of Salem

Wayland, Mass.

WHEN the newspapers came out on the morning of May 14 last, residents of Wayland, a town sixteen miles west of Boston with a population of six thousand, found they had an ex-Communist in their midst. Anne Hale, a forty-six-year-old teacher in the second grade of the Center School, had been called to testify before the Massachusetts Commission on Communism, a legislative agency, and had freely admitted that she had been a member of the party between 1938 and 1950. On the night of May 13 the committee suspended her, pending a hearing on whether she should be dismissed from the job she had held for six years.

News that Miss Hale was an ex-Communist was sensational. Her people had come over on the first boats. She was a graduate of Radcliffe. Parents knew her well as teacher and baby sitter, the kind of baby sitter who would take over for several days or a week while the parents went away. She was a Unitarian, a member of the League of Women Voters, a teacher in a local arts-and-crafts program given for children in summer, a home owner, a member of the community in good standing.

Rumors began to fly about. On the principle that if there was one ex-Communist in town there must be others, gossip quickly named dozens, among them eight or nine persons taking a Great Books course. They had studied the Communist Manifesto, it was reported to the Massachusetts state police. (The police investigated and found they had also studied Thomas Aquinas, Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Shakespeare.) Some people who had attended a couple of peace meetings in private homes were named.

A Boston newspaper reported that three Wayland residents besides Miss Hale had been called before the Commission on Communism. Who they were and what they said is still between them and the commission. No public agency has yet charged that any one of the three is or has been a member of the Communist Party.

Detectives appeared at schools. It was said that they were taking down registration numbers of automobiles. When three automobiles stood in a citizen's driveway one night, gossip had it that it was a cell meeting. Some people were frightened because they realized what it could mean to them to be falsely accused. Others were seriously disturbed by the thought that their community was honeycombed with Red treason.

MISS HALE asked the School Committee to hold a public hearing on the charges against her, and it consented. She was charged specifically with having lied to the committee, in a sworn statement made to it on April 23, when she said she could not recall the existence of a state law, passed in 1949, which banned Communists from teaching in the public schools. The committee also maintained that she lacked the judgment and perception to be a teacher, and had adhered to Communist doctrine after leaving the party.

The hearing went to eight sessions, all in the high-school gymnasium. The drama was sedate, in modern dress, with microphones and reporters but with no radio, TV, or flashing camera bulbs. Only registered voters and special guests were admitted.

On the first night the audience numbered nearly seven hundred, including plain-clothes police, just in case of trouble. Miss Hale answered questions about her statement of April 23 but refused to go beyond that. She would not name any of her former party superiors.

After the first night the audience dwindled until not more than 250 were showing up. The vocal members of the crowd were unfriendly to Miss Hale. They laughed and applauded several times when the prosecution scored a point. Aside from these slight demonstrations, the proceedings were decorous. It was the first public hearing held on a Red teacher in Massachusetts.

A hostile observer, admitted as a guest, wrote in the weekly paper of Sudbury, an adjoining town:

> I've been one of those people who had "never seen a Communist." Now I have no doubt that I saw quite a few. . . . And when I wondered why the lovely country town of Wayland should have such a strong Communist cell it occurred to me that it's an ideal center of sabotage, in view of the technical and military installations surrounding it.

A mother of children who had been in Miss Hale's classes said wryly and in private: "She certainly taught my kids to read and write. She was a fine teacher until they found out she was a Communist."

A leader of the sentiment in favor of having Miss Hale fired was the pastor of one of the two Catholic churches in town. Other clergymen in Wayland made no direct reference to the case from their pulpits.

Early in the proceedings the Center School Parent-Teacher Association held a warm meeting. It was moved that the group recommend to the School Committee that Miss Hale be fired. The motion was watered down to a recommendation that no Communist sympathizer be hired as a teacher. This motion passed forty-four to twenty-seven, with a third to a half of those present not voting.

So the hearings came to an end, and after a time the School Committee voted, two to one, to dismiss Miss Hale. The dissenter, a lawyer, said he couldn't see that the specific charges were proved. The majority found most of the charges proved and said that as a practical matter of school administration she should not stay.

Since her suspension Miss Hale has been doing housecleaning to earn money. She wants to take the case to court. She says that on the whole people were very nice to her.

DONALD B. WILLARD

[*Donald B. Willard is editor of the Wayland* Town Crier *and an editorial writer for the Boston* Globe.]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Speed the Parting Guest

Never has a host separated from his parting guest with greater enthusiasm than the Administration must have felt on waving goodby to its friend and ally, President Syngman Rhee. In the course of one brief visit the Korean President called on the United States to join him in a war to drive the Communists out of power in China, thought it would be a good thing if Russia came in to show the whole job could be done at once, announced that this country has not the "common guts" to face the problem of communism, and declared the Korean armistice at an end as far as he was concerned. After his second or third outburst even his most devoted Congressional supporters could not think up any more wholehearted descriptions of him than "redoubtable" and "dynamic." These he is. He is also an honest fire-eater who surely believes every word he says, and will have no hesitation about going just as far as he can go without forcing the United States to wash its hands of him altogether. Since this country is committed before itself and the world to the preservation of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Rhee can go pretty far without getting into real trouble. This he knows very well.

The chief reassuring fact is that he cannot start a new war without our help, and that we are not going to help him. Not now, or soon, in any case. But he can make the most of our pusillanimous reluctance to launch World War III and at the same time claim a major role in any defense program we try to get under way in Asia. His tall talk may not win converts in Washington today, but it can embarrass the Administration both at home and abroad. For President Rhee was an American invention, and is an American protégé. He also has the best army in Asia, outside of Communist China. His nuisance value is still great, as his sponsor will have other occasions to discover.

The Flag and the Coffin

What promised to be Mexico's gravest political crisis in years was averted when President Ruiz Cortinas refused to accept former President Lázaro Cárdenas's resignation from his post as director of a hydroelectric and irrigation project in his native state of Michoacan. It was a minor post, entirely disproportionate to the immense influence Cárdenas still wields in the country, but it was one he loved and believed in. He offered to resign because he did not want to be an element of discord within Mexico's ruling party, the Party of Revolutionary Institutions, or to embarrass the President.

Witch-hunting started this particular conflict as it starts so many these days in the Western Hemisphere. When Frida Kahlo, the wife of Diego Rivera and herself a noted painter, died recently, she left directions that her coffin be covered with the Communist flag. Andres Iduarte, Mexico's Director of Fine Arts, who presided at the funeral, fulfilled the dead woman's wish; General Cárdenas attended the services. Then the storm broke. Iduarte was fired and a campaign of vilification began against Cárdenas, who was not helped in this instance by his recent courageous public support of Guatemala's deposed President, Jacob Arbenz.

Dr. Iduarte is far from being a Communist (after his dismissal he said: "If I had been, or if I were, I would say so"); neither is General Cárdenas a Communist. He could have fought back successfully on the current issue. He chose not to because he believed that the unity of his party was of greater importance than any personal victory. By offering his resignation he in effect achieved both, for his action produced a popular protest of such magnitude that it insured the President's prompt refusal.

After Watches, What?

The President is said to be a sincere believer in the importance of freeing international trade, but the courage of his convictions is open to question. He failed to give strong backing to the report of the Randall committee; he refused to put up a real fight for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act—a fight which Democratic support would have enabled him to win; he acquiesced in the sidetracking of the customs-simplification bill. And now, in the "watch case," he has succumbed to the specious arguments of a handful of watch manufacturers and their Republican allies. Mr. Eisenhower insists that this action is not a "retreat." But having given ground on one occasion, he will find it harder to resist pressure from other directions. His postponement of a decision on the Tariff Commission's recommendation of increases in duties on lead and zinc is ominous. Such increases, which can also

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be justified by a phony defense argument, would add Canada and Mexico to our outraged trade partners.

It may be that the 50 per cent increase in duties on watches and watch movements will prove less damaging to our Swiss friends than they fear. Watch distributors interviewed by the *Wall Street Journal* maintain that the demand for imported watches will not be seriously affected. But irrespective of the actual loss to the Swiss, the moral damage wrought by the President's decision is incalculable. As the Geneva correspondent of the New York *Times* writes, "Europeans simply do not believe that a country willing to risk destroying a flourishing private enterprise, such as the Swiss watch industry, is serious about maintaining the free-enterprise system in other parts of the world."

East-West Trade

Inexorably the pressure in Western Europe for relaxation of the restrictions on East-West trade imposed by this country is making itself felt. From London comes word that a fairly large number of items previously banned as strategic materials may enter the stream of trade with the Communist countries after August 16. About one-third of the items on the embargo list will be removed, those under partial quantitative control will be reduced from ninety to twenty, and about sixty items will be placed on a "watch list." But much remains to be done if East-West trade is to be effectively encouraged. The extent of the problem and some excellent suggestions for its solution may be found in "East-West Trade," a pamphlet recently published by the Citizens' Conference on International Economic Union (copies can be obtained from the organization at 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York 17), which is sponsoring an all-day Institute on Worldwide Trade and Peace in New York on October 9.

Coal: A "Sick" Industry?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE on-the-spot reports in this issue are evidence enough of the acute distress that exists today in three major coal-mining regions. Total unemployment in the industry is probably between 125,000 and 150,000. Underemployment is also extensive: many miners manage to get only two or three days' work a week. Of those laid off, many have long since exhausted their unemployment benefits. The all-too-clear consequences are aggravated by the fact that we seem to have forgotten how to cope with large-scale unemployment. Surplus food commodities shipped to the distressed areas are often shunted back and forth between agencies united in their determination to avoid, if possible, any responsibility for distribution. In one community food may

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be distributed by the Salvation Army; in the next by the local justice of the peace. Is the failure to relieve the suffering that exists in these communities a preview of the incompetence and buck-passing to be anticipated should large-scale unemployment develop in other industries? It will be said of course—it has always been said—that coal is a special case, a "sick" industry. Sick or healthy, however, coal is a basic industry, vital to national welfare and defense. And surely the distress of 150,000 American workers and their families cannot be conjured away by chanting the slogan "coal is sick."

BY WHAT standards do we pronounce an industry "sick"? Judging by its efficiency and productivity, there is nothing "sick" about the American coal industry. Output per man-day increased from slightly less than five tons in 1939 to the present eight tons. While the United Mine Workers have demanded high wages and good working conditions, they have never tried to balk technological advances. On the contrary, it has been the union's unyielding insistence on high wages and working standards that has forced the American coal industry to become the most highly mechanized in the world.

As a matter of fact, the "overproduction" of the moment is in no small part due to the introduction of new machinery that has nearly doubled output per man in the last decade. Largely as a consequence of increased productivity and mechanization, the industry is today in a transition phase. "The new technology," as the London *Economist* points out in a recent survey (issue of July 24), "will inevitably force its own pattern on the organization of the industry." What this pattern will be is a matter of speculation, but certain trends seem fairly clear. To take full advantage of mechanization, production will increasingly be concentrated in the more efficient mines and the old high-cost pits will be closed. At the present time something like 80 per cent of total output is produced by 300 of the largest companies. Closer integration with large consumers—steel mills, utility systems, chemical plants—is another likely development. In the future more industrial plants will probably be constructed near coal mines. The new technology also requires, apparently, a reorganization in mine layout and production pattern. "It is now a question," observes the *Economist's* correspondent, "of adopting the mine to the machine rather than the machine to the mine."

But no one needs to speculate about the consequences of unemployment in the industry at the moment: they are real enough. The necessity for both an extension of the period of coverage and an increase in the amount of unemployment benefits is clear. But much, too, can be done to relieve the pressures on the industry. The Governors' Fuel Conference, set up on the initiative of the United Mine Workers and consisting of the governors of the sixteen states where coal is mined, has held two meetings, the first in Washington on April 26, the second at the recent Bolton Landing Governors' Conference. Along with other proposals the Governors' Fuel Conference has urged the Administration to place restrictions on the importation of residual (waste) oil, which has cut heavily into the coal market. Unfortunately the conference tabled a resolution calling on the federal government to supply emergency funds to the states for payment of additional unemployment compensation. On June 29 fourteen outstanding industry figures and nine members of Congress from coal-producing states, accompanied by four ranking Administration officials, called on the President and presented a ten-point program for government action to rebuild and maintain the economic strength of the industry. Nothing much came of this mission, but the governors of the coal-producing states will probably convene in Washington this fall to meet with their Senators and Representatives and insist that something be done.

Of all the proposals advanced thus far, the one of perhaps the greatest long-range importance is that the government formulate a national fuel policy for coal, oil, gas, and all other energy sources. The United Mine Workers have been advocating the adoption of such a policy for years. Government policies affecting the various fuel- or energy-producing industries make a crazy-quilt design, inconsistent, overlapping, hit-or-miss. Why should government subsidize the oil industry by an arbitrary and outrageously high depletion allowance? What are the future energy requirements of the nation and how can existing supplies of each source of energy, including the atom, best be allocated and conserved? Why did the federal government sabotage the promising synthetic-fuel research program (see *The Nation,* June 19)? At the time the Louisiana, Missouri, plant was shut down, it was converting soft coal into synthetic liquid fuel at a cost within pennies of the cost of natural crude oil.

Has the Administration the will, energy, and social imagination needed to cope with the challenge implicit in the spreading blight of unemployment in coal? The problems will not be solved overnight, but the distress described in the articles in this issue can be relieved immediately. Here, then, is still another test of the intention and capacity of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Nation *lost an old and valued friend by the death of Harry Steinberg, founder and chairman of the board of the Steinberg Press, which has printed this journal for the past fifteen years. We have never had more satisfactory and cooperative relations with any business associate. We extend our deep sympathy to those left in charge of the Press, among whom are several of Mr. Steinberg's family.*

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MUST GERMANY BE ARMED?

Alternatives to E.D.C. . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

NOW that the Indo-China nightmare is over, the biggest issue facing Mendès-France is E. D. C. Because of the intense feeling aroused by the idea of rearming Germany, he will need all his great authority in order to handle this issue in the National Assembly without wrecking his government in the process. He has undoubtedly strengthened his position by the courage and decision he displayed in coming to grips with two problems for which none of his predecessors had any solution to offer. One is the problem of France's economy. Last week he submitted to the Cabinet a program of reforms which, without being in any sense revolutionary, will require so many sacrifices on the part of industrial and financial interests that a less popular Premier could never have won the agreement of the conservatives now in office. Twenty-four hours later he confronted his colleagues with an even more drastic decision—the grant of internal autonomy to Tunis, torn apart by the nationalist struggle. The Cabinet divided sharply on this issue, but M. Mendès-France finally got his way. Moving with impressive speed he flew to Tunis to make his offer in person to the Bey, appealing for friendship and a common effort but announcing at the same time that if Tunisians did not quit shooting Frenchmen he would use whatever force was necessary to restore public order. The Premier is now in a much better position to grapple with the thorny issue of E. D. C. He promised Washington to bring the issue up for debate before the parliamentary recess at the end of August.

The new Premier is a man of his word. The thing that most impressed Mr. Dulles was his frankness and seriousness. I remember how, at the Berlin conference in January, M. Bidault daily assured Mr. Dulles that there was no reason to worry about French ratification of E. D. C. The secretary of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, did the same thing in his conversations with members of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg. M. Mollet assumed, with an unfounded optimism similar to that of M. Bidault, that only a few Socialists like Jules Moch, Daniel Mayer, Naegelen, and Verdier, would maintain their opposition to E. D. C. to the bitter end. But in his meeting with Mr. Dulles at Paris, Mendès-France explained just how many Socialist, Radical, Gaullist, and independent deputies would vote against E. D. C. in addition to the Communists. There Mr. Dulles heard the truth for the first time—that E. D. C. in its present form might well be defeated. He returned to Washington angry at the way in which he had been misled by his earlier informants, but at least he now knew where he stood.

Mendès-France is not going to risk the existence of his government and his own political future on the issue of E. D. C. His intimate friends quote him as saying in private: "The ratification of E. D. C. would be a national calamity for France; but its non-ratification might be an international calamity." What he means is that non-ratification might lead to a French break with Washington and to the dissolution of the Atlantic alliance and he does not regard either possibility lightly. His enthusiastic supporters on the left should not forget this, however much they may admire him for his valor, intelligence, and honesty. It is more than probable that when he places the ratification of E. D. C. before the Assembly, he will not make it a "question of confidence" but will permit the deputies to vote in complete freedom.

THIS writer has often insisted that the German problem, with all its difficulties, offers the best chance for reaching an agreement with Russia that might preserve peace for many years. But in the present critical situation the positions for and against E. D. C. and the alternatives available are worth summarizing.

The partisans of E. D. C. maintain that the real choice before the French Assembly is between a German contribution to Europe's defense on the limited scale and under the controls proposed by the treaty, and a national German army, equipped by the United States and tied by treaty to American policy. In their opinion failure of the Assembly to ratify E. D. C. would leave the United States no choice but to arm Germany as its future chief ally—together with Franco Spain. This would mean the collapse of the Western military concept embodied in NATO.

The adversaries of E. D. C. are convinced that no matter how many controls the treaty might provide or how much it might still be improved by the incorporation of the protocols worked out under M. Bidault, nothing would prevent Germany from dominating the European army and, through it, Western policy. To them, everything that is taking place in Germany supports the theory that the German generals, once in the saddle, would find even Dr. Adenauer too moderate and with the help of the extreme nationalists would throw him out after he had ceased to be useful in his role of "reasonable European." This would open the way to a regime more dangerous in the long run than Hitler's, because it would have its roots not in adventurism but in the solid tradition of Frederick the Great and Bismarck. They point out further that German contingents in a European army would inevitably be used for the defense of Germany's frontiers and that, as a consequence, the peace of Europe would be at the mercy of troops committed heart and soul to the recovery of their country's lost territories. No matter what might be the official policy of E. D. C., its real policy would be made by armed Germans confronting the armed forces of Russia and its allies on the disputed eastern border.

The French opponents of E. D. C. also deny that Secretary Dulles could,

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as he has suggested, readily incorporate a rearmed Germany in NATO should E. D. C. fail of ratification. France, like its allies, has a veto power over new members. They freely admit, however, that Washington could sign a bilateral treaty with Germany like the one signed with Franco. But they point out the unfavorable reactions this would produce in Europe. And some even suggest that France could effectively block the arming of Germany if it were willing to use all the means at its disposal.

IN THE vote on E. D. C. the French Socialists will play a great role. In spite of the disciplinary measures decreed by Guy Mollet the Socialist deputies who oppose E. D. C. have decided to vote against it. They feel themselves in a stronger position in view of the wide support gained by Aneurin Bevan in Britain and the recent statement issued by the German Socialists. Although the Bevanite pamphlet "It Need Not Happen" has been badly received by the Labor Party leadership, this strong blast against the E. D. C., and German rearmament in general has increased considerably Mr. Bevan's backing among the rank and file.

Still more important, because of its source, is the German Social Democrats' pronouncement. The West Berlin Conference of the Social Democratic Party adopted by a staggering majority (360 against 20) a motion supporting the position taken the day before in a speech by the party's chairman, Erich Ollenhauer. It contained two main points: "(1) The future can be assured only through the creation of regional security systems within the framework of the United Nations statute; the great powers should therefore negotiate an agreement on Germany and European security. (2) Should these negotiations fail—but only in that case—Germany could "under certain previously stipulated conditions" participate in "common efforts to guarantee peace and to defend freedom even by military means."

It is significant that the German Socialist resolution coincided in time with Moscow's proposal of a conference on collective security in Europe made in the note of July 24 to France, Britain, and the United States. This move showed that in the Kremlin's view Geneva was not an end in itself but rather a part of a general policy of *détente* and the prelude to a larger diplomatic action. As *Le Monde* of Paris wrote: "Six months after its proposal the Molotov plan for collective security —presented at the Berlin conference— and the reunification of a neutralized Germany has now acquired a new topicality."

This comment is extremely significant. For the problem confronting the opponents of E. D. C. is not only how to defeat it but how to reassure the world that its defeat will not merely open the way to worse dangers. The first essential, of course, is an agreement with Moscow on Germany. The second, perhaps, is an assurance to the German Social Democrats and all the other antimilitarist dissenters from Dr. Adenauer's policy that France is not looking for the subjugation of an unarmed Germany but for its incorporation in a Europe liberated from both the threat of German aggression and the fear of becoming the main battleground in an all-consuming struggle between East and West. This assurance, too, quite obviously depends upon a basic agreement with Moscow.

But as the Berlin conference proved, any settlement negotiated with the Russians must include more area even than Germany. This was plainly hinted in the very important speech by Jules Moch made before the United Nations Disarmament Commission last week. The entire tone of M. Moch's remarks revealed his belief that the vastly complicated but decisive problems of disarmament and the atomic and hydrogen bomb should be made part of a negotiation on a grand scale to solve at one and the same time the issue of Germany and of the West's security. He sees in the Geneva agreement an indication that the moment has arrived for an effort to make coexistence something more than a topic for press conferences.

The explanation of why the Communists finally adopted so conciliatory an attitude on Indo-China, he believes lies in the simple fact of Moscow's desire, as a matter of intelligent self-interest, to promote an easing of the world tension. One need not read too much into his speech to conclude that he was in effect telling the West to say to the Russians: "You are legitimately worried about the rearmament of Germany; so are we in France; and so perhaps are a majority in Britain and throughout Europe. But many countries are similarly worried by the size of your armies, whose might has now been increased by your possession not only of the atomic bomb but of the hydrogen bomb and of new and revolutionary weapons of other sorts. Let us therefore enter into a negotiation in which these questions will be examined as parts of an interrelated whole."

In the meantime, until an understanding with Russia is achieved, Germany could be given the satisfaction of having its sovereignty restored in all matters except rearmament through the participation of the United Nations, to which the German Social Democrats made such significant reference. For in-

Courtesy London *Daily Mirror*

"Here's the first prize, dear. You're well on the way to becoming Miss Universe."

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stance, instead of continuing the occupation by the former victors, token forces of the United Nations—of the Western countries in West Germany, of Russia and its allies in East Germany—all of them under U. N. command, might temporarily fill the vacuum created by the rejection of E. D. C. and the postponement of German rearmament. If after a reasonable period of time this effort to reach a general agreement should fail because of Russia's intransigence, then the present adversaries of E. D. C. would reconsider their position on Germany. None of this was said directly by M. Moch, but anyone who has followed the development of his thought and that of many other French opponents of E. D. C. will readily make the connection between his spoken words and these ideas.

While his case must have sounded convincing to many people, it apparently made little impression on the United States representative on the Disarmament Commission. The following day Mr. Patterson threw a good deal of cold water on M. Moch's proposals, which incidentally received very little space or attention in the big New York papers —a curious performance in view of the authority of the speaker and the special interest in the policy of France at this particular moment. Mr. Patterson bluntly dismissed M. Moch's assertion that "no fundamental differences" now separated Russia and the West from agreement on atomic control. He said the French representative was seeing "a Moscow mirage." But he himself failed to offer any way out of the present paralysis of American foreign policy, which has brought this powerful country to a situation where it can neither make peace nor make war.

"SICK" COAL—HUNGRY MEN

[*Three veteran journalists report—two in Pennsylvania, one in Kentucky—report on the unreported depression in the nation's sick coal industry. See the editorial on page 102 of this issue.*]

Ghost Towns

BY GLENN SEASE

Johnstown, Pennsylvania

COAL mines are full of trouble, even when work is good and hopes are high and the miners drink to the tune of rollicking Polish polkas down at the town tavern. In the better days there's the fear of props cracking and buckling, letting the rock roof down on the men. There's the river of yellow sulphur water to be pumped out, the clean, fresh air to be pumped in. There's the mine gas. And when the tipples shake beneath the steady loads, there's the grimy coal dust that sprinkles down across the mine patch like black salt to plague the housewife.

But today there's worse misery in the mine towns that stud Pennsylvania's hillsides. More sinister than the dust cloud that used to hang like a black blanket overhead is the present wholesale shutdown of mines. Thousands of men have been laid off and scores of towns are turning into ghosts. Everyone is asking: Will the mines ever reopen? Sitting idly, helplessly by, miners fear they see the answer as they watch the rails ripped up and the machinery sold.

Competition of other fuels, spiraling costs, and other factors have left the mine owners clutching for a skidding market. Many believe that the industry will never recover and that if a war emergency should arise, there would be no mines running and no men to dig the coal. Pennsylvania's mines are for the most part old, their long haulage adds to the high cost of production, and they are bucking railroad rates which they claim allow other states with lower costs to ship coal right by them at cheaper prices. Unable to meet price cuts on the market ranging from 25 to 40 cents a ton, a host of central Pennsylvania mine owners have called it quits.

Only 69,126 persons were employed in the coal industry in Pennsylvania in 1953 as compared with 105,816 in 1943. Since January 1, 1953, 156 mines have closed in the state and 16,247 men have been thrown out of work. This is the frightening picture that has caused the President to name a council to make a last-minute effort to save the mines.

At St. Michael, Hoot Croyle, who at forty is a veteran of twenty-five years in the mines, was working only one day a week until two weeks ago. Now he is working four days a week and wondering how long it will last. "I wouldn't want any other job," he says. "I like the mines." Younger men have left town, storing their furniture and hitting the road in trailers. The old fellows stay on, hoping for a revival that will call them back into the mines. To help bolster the budget the government has been shipping in surplus food.

In Jerome, a little town built about a mine, the men had always felt secure, had raised families, bought homes and new cars. This summer announcement of the shutdown hit the town like a bolt of lightning. Three hundred men were let out. They couldn't believe it. "We read about the layoffs and shutdowns at mines in other sections but didn't figure it would hit us," said Frank Negast, president of the local union. "The men don't know where to turn. There isn't another industry in town."

The Cambria Fuel Company, employing 250 men at Shanksville, tried to break its union contract in order to stay in business. It filed notice with the United Mine Workers that it intended to operate as non-union. "We are only seeking self-preservation and the right to operate our mines to the best interests of the company and its employees," it said. On the first morning the mine was scheduled to operate on a non-union basis pickets blocked the roadway. It hasn't worked a day since.

Lewis's $100-a-month pension starts at age sixty. If a miner is laid off at fifty-nine he cannot qualify for a pension even when he reaches sixty. As for state relief: "You have to plead pauper and open your home to snoopers if you want to get aid from the state," declared Hoot Croyle.

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What is the answer? Operators have offered a ten-point plan to Eisenhower to stimulate the coal industry's recovery. It asks for a curb on fuel imports, protection from excessive natural-gas competition, reduction of freight rates on coal, a broad research program, and that the government consider the use of coal in its power-production plans.

[*Glenn Sease is a Johnstown, Pennsylvania, newspaperman.*]

Kentucky's Plight

BY GERALD GRIFFIN

Lexington, Kentucky

KENTUCKY has two big coal fields separated by the fabulous blue-grass country, which is dotted with park-like thoroughbred and standard-bred horse farms. Owing to recent industrial developments in the western part of the state, including a big atomic plant, plus a favorable geographic situation with reference to markets, lower rail freight rates, and the availability of water transportation, the western field is much better off than the eastern. And it is not so thoroughly unionized.

Eastern Kentucky is a mountainous region half covered with cut-over timber. There are sparse opportunities for agriculture. Industry has shunned the area. Coal is its life blood, and leukemia has set in.

The whole eastern coal field, with the exception of two counties and a few isolated spots, has been organized by the United Mine Workers of America, which rides with a tight rein. The union brooks no deviations from its iron-clad contracts, insisting on strict adherence to its basic wage scale of $18.25 a day and the 40-cents-a-ton royalty for its Welfare and Retirement Fund. A great majority of the mine owners contend that they cannot operate at a profit under these union demands. The union disagrees, claiming that efficient management and increased mechanization would assure a fair profit. The fact remains that the coal industry of the region is in a sad plight. With a steadily shrinking market, mining companies are going bankrupt and thousands of miners are out of work. The most depressing part of the picture is the few jobs available for the unemployed miners: there is not enough industry or agriculture to absorb even a small fraction of them.

The one small oasis of comparative prosperity in the area is found in Clay and Leslie counties, which are not unionized. Blood has flowed frequently during the past three years as the union has tried vigorously but unsuccessfully to organize the Clay and Leslie mines. The operators there say that they will close down rather than surrender to the union.

In the rest of the area production has been dwindling since the peak year of 1947; in the first half of this year it was 25 per cent less than in the corresponding period of 1953. Mines that are still producing are operating only two or three days a week.

The "captive" mines of the big steel companies—Inland, United States Steel, and Republic—do not feel the pinch so badly as the independents. The mills' demand for coking coal keeps them operating at a fairly steady level, though their production may fluctuate with the demand for steel. A few of the larger, highly mechanized independents continue to operate, apparently at a profit, but there is keen competition for the market. Some operators are hanging on, losing money month after month they say, in the meager hope that conditions will change.

Many ghost towns are seen in eastern Kentucky these days. Coke ovens are crumbling from long idleness. Buildings have been torn down for the lumber. Most of the people have moved away in search of jobs.

Operators and union officials agree that a big chunk of the coal industry has lost out to the competitive fuels of oil and gas. They agree further in condemning the unrestricted importation of cheap residual fuel oil, which is replacing coal at an alarming rate on the Atlantic seaboard. With the constant increase in production costs, it has been necessary to raise prices at the mines. When it becomes more economical to use oil or gas than to burn coal, industries change over. So do householders.

To reach their markets, eastern Kentucky operators must ship through competitive coal fields at an unfavorable rail-freight-rate differential. The area is burdened further by the absence of

the water transportation facilities which bless some of the competing fields. Water transportation not only provides cheap haulage but forces the railroads along the navigable streams to offer a competitive rate. The strip mining of other regions increases the difficulties of the underground mines here.

Whatever the reason, the coal industry in eastern Kentucky is sick—and there is precious little hope for a cure in the foreseeable future.

[*Gerald Griffin is chief of the eastern Kentucky bureau of the Louisville* Courier-Journal.]

The Ailing Giant

BY EDWARD J. DONOHOE

Scranton, Pennsylvania

THEY still call it the "black-diamond country," but to the 1,500,000 people who live in northeastern Pennsylvania's anthracite cities and towns the phrase has long since lost its meaning. In 1918 nearly 180,000 miners worked practically every day in the year except Sunday to fill the nation's household coal bins—for anthracite is primarily a home-heating fuel. But the preferences of householders have changed a lot since then. In consequence the underground army of this region has shrunk to less than 31,000, and the days worked have thinned out to last year's average of 164.

There are whipping boys a-plenty—union officials with their strikes, the operators, the railroads, sales companies, home-delivery firms, heating-equipment manufacturers, government tax agencies, and the miners themselves. John L.

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Lewis, international president of the United Mine Workers of America, was once the industry's "chief devil," but is no longer. During the years he was leading the miners to unprecedentedly high wages, pensions, increased safety, job security, and other social advances Lewis was repeatedly charged with "pricing hard coal out of the market." Unperturbed, he called on the industry to exorcise its real "devils," listing among them the fantastic royalties paid to absentee owners, excessive freight rates, resource-sapping corporate alliances, archaic merchandising policies, and so on. During one memorable wage negotiation years ago Lewis is credited with having told the operators: "Gentlemen, you speak of burdensome wage rates. I tell you this: If you give your product away by the wagonload, for nothing, consumers who can afford more convenient fuels will pay the higher price they command. They will do so because they do not want to shovel coal and haul ashes."

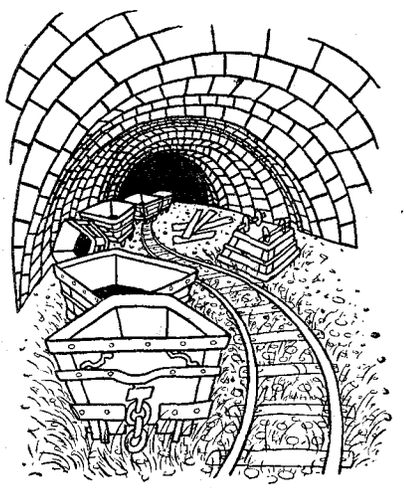
Lewis's warning on consumer preference for home heat that requires only a touch of knob or dial has been borne out. There is little dispute that cost is not the major consideration in home heating. It is convenience.

In the eight years that have passed since World War II the nation's fuel requirements have expanded more than 10 per cent, but coal production and consumption have declined more than 35 per cent. Oil heat, with persuasive dealer service, had been an increasing menace for several decades before that, but the worst blows to the coal industry have been struck in recent years. Even in the anthracite area, where coal companies and miners have joined in calling for regional "loyalty" to the basic industry, the oil burners in thousands of homes stand as proof of the desire of consumers for effortless convenience. It makes no difference that hard coal offers more value on a B. T. U. dollar basis than any other fuel.

The lean years began after the last big strike, which ran for six months in 1925-26. The depression of the thirties found the anthracite fields even worse off than the rest of the United States, and by 1939 emergency relief expenditures had reached such a fantastic figure that a special investigation was ordered by Congress. Before its conclusions and recommendations could be acted upon, the war in Europe revitalized American industry, and anthracite was included.

Some coal-region cities, notably Scranton, moved to meet the time when coal reserves would be exhausted. They were blissfully unaware then that exhaustion of consumers rather than of anthracite would be the headache of the future. As a result, Scranton today is a city of diversified industry, with many enterprises not remotely connected with coal.

The operators today bear no resemblance to the notorious George F. Baer who once declared that the mine owners had a "divine right" to operate the



Brandel

mines as they saw fit, but there is room for improvement in labor-management relations. For example, the Lehigh Navigation Coal Company in the Panther Creek Valley, sixty miles south of Scranton, recently informed its 5,000 employees that unless production was increased the firm would have to go out of business. The idea was that greater tonnage would permit the company to counterbalance the convenience appeal of oil and gas with lower prices. John L. Lewis approved the plan and so did all but one of the local unions. This union defied Lewis and picketed operations where the proposed production-increase plan was to go into effect. Since coal miners don't cross picket lines for any reason, the company had to close its mines.

Just a few days ago W. J. Clements, Pennsylvania's Secretary of Mines, disclosed that during the first six months of this year 18,000 hard-coal miners were thrown out of work. "The year 1954," he said, "may well be one of the most evil that has ever befallen the coal industry—anthracite or bituminous." Reflecting the current decline, figures of the Bureau of Employment Security show that 36.7 per cent of the hard-coal industry's employees drew jobless compensation during June.

THE question now is, what can be done? The anthracite industry is an ailing giant who can't help himself. Many believe that the malady is beyond the capabilities of the Pennsylvania Commonwealth, which in 1940 created a tripartite agency to end ruinous production practices and gear daily and weekly tonnages to market demands. As a vital natural resource, anthracite can look to the federal government for succor. In fact, the White House is currently trying to do something about it. Some months ago the Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission, a local creation, submitted fifteen rehabilitation suggestions to President Eisenhower, who referred them to his economic advisers for examination. Some of the commission's suggestions are make-work proposals something like those advanced nearly fifteen years ago by the Congressional subcommittee that conducted hearings throughout the anthracite counties. One urges that something be done about the problem of mine-water drainage, an operating-cost item that drives mine owners just about crazy.

Experts are agreed that if newly developed automatic home-heating apparatus, eliminating any need for hand firing or hand disposal of ashes, can check the flight of consumers to the effortless fuels, new hard-coal uses can be found in the metallurgical and chemical fields. But research costs money, and every anthracite company in northeastern Pennsylvania, with possibly one exception, is operating in the red.

Just how far federal-government intervention will go depends, many believe, on the outcome of a dispute between Washington agencies. The controversy can be boiled down to the question of the long-term value of the anthracite industry. One school of economic thought holds that the anthracite industry is expendable. These economists seem to have forgotten the frightening experience of World War II when it was necessary to stop the instalment of oil-burning equipment because of oil-tanker losses to enemy subma-

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rines. The Office of Defense Mobilization says there is no major threat to our future oil supply. The Department of the Interior contends there is not enough petroleum in our economy to insure adequate defense in the event of all-out war. Some day someone is going to be proved to have been wrong as hell.

Meanwhile there seems to be nothing for the anthracite communities to do but to watch and pray—as indeed thousands did only recently at Scranton at St. Ann's annual novena.

[*Edward J. Donohoe, assistant managing editor and city editor of the Scranton* Times, *is the winner of a Heywood Broun journalism award, a Pulitzer journalism citation, and an award from the government of Holland for a story on the Dutch mining industry.*]

FRANCE'S LITTLE PEOPLE

Admire Their New Leader . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

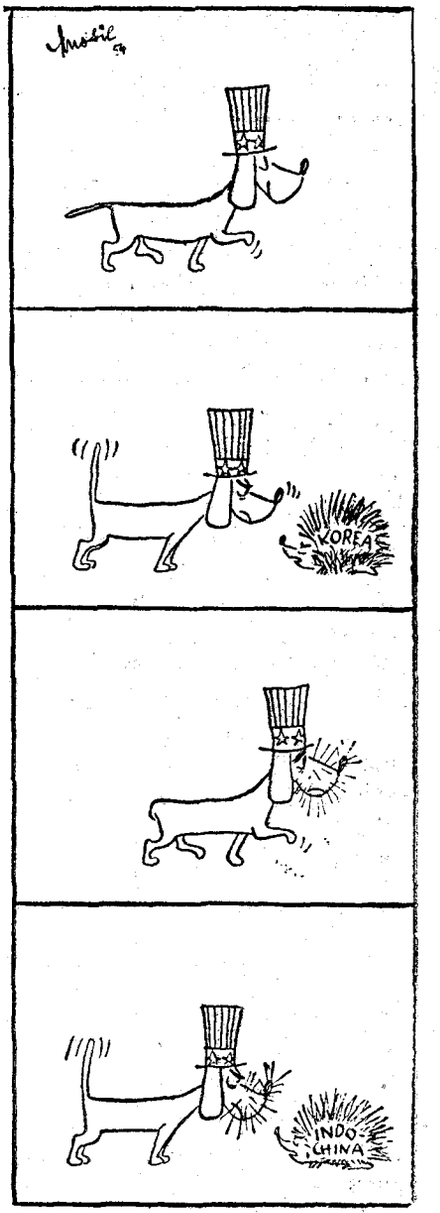
IT SO happened that I watched the great events that led up to the Indo-China settlement of July 20 not from Paris or Geneva but from a small town in the southwestern part of France which I shall call Vignac-sur-Vézère. I am glad I was there. I believe that one had to be in provincial France during these last historic weeks to realize the immense weight of public opinion which, from the very outset, supported Mendès-France's New Deal and, above all, his bid to end the war in Indo-China. Although, in an electoral sense, the area is an extremely mixed one, with Socialists and Radicals predominating, it gave Mendès-France almost unanimous support from the start. Shopkeepers, peasants, farm laborers, teachers, and priests—ex-Resistance or ex-Vichy—all were enormously relieved to know that here at last was something new in France.

Everybody followed Mendès-France's negotiations very closely. There was general alarm over Eisenhower's message to President Coty and over Dulles's visit to Paris, for people felt that the United States wanted France to continue the war in Indo-China at any price. The way Mendès-France checked these alleged attempts to "sabotage Geneva" aroused the greatest admiration. Equally strong was the resentment at Bidault, who was thought to be "plotting against Geneva" with the Americans. One had the clear impression during these weeks, and especially after July 20, that if a general election were held in the near future, the M. R. P. would be badly smashed.

Even before Mendès-France became Premier, there had been a lot of talk about the terrible losses in Indo-China. And the people's hatred of the war was strengthened by the fear that before long conscript troops would be sent out there. One day the grocer's wife asked me with tears in her eyes whether I thought her son, who was then doing his military service, would be sent to Indo-China. "It's not so bad," she continued, "being officers in Indo-China. They are well paid. However, if my boy got half a million francs a month, I still wouldn't want him to go there." This threat to the youth of the country did much to mobilize opinion behind Mendès-France and arouse anger at Dulles's apparent indifference to how much French blood was shed. With public opinion so worked up, people here thought the M. R. P. would not dare overthrow Mendès-France in Parliament, but they were convinced the United States embassy was plotting against him. I heard no expression of regret for what was surrendered on July 20.

It must be said that the French provincial press sized up the state of opinion in France much quicker than some of the Paris papers, and any reservations about the new Premier soon gave way to almost unanimous approval. I was especially struck by the unqualified enthusiasm of that most influential of French provincial papers, the *Dépêche* of Toulouse.

The prospect of having drafted troops sent to Indo-China was not the only factor. Wherever I went I could see that people were again beginning



Once Bitten Twice Shy

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *correspondent in France.*

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to feel proud of France. "At last," they said, "we have a man who is no longer under Dulles's thumb, and who can speak firmly in the name of France. The world will now respect us again." Some odd little nuances of opinion deserve mention. At Auch a schoolmaster told me that it was "thanks to the Soviet H-bomb" that "the Yanks could no longer order us about." Several men rejoiced that the war was over because now business might improve. I heard a fellow in a cafe at Perigueux shout that all foreigners should be kicked out of France and "first of all, those guys from the air bases."

The "Jewish" angle of the Mendès-France phenomenon cannot be regarded as non-existent. Some persons thought it was a "disgrace" that the *real* Frenchmen who had preceded him in office should have been incapable of doing what he had done ("are Jews so much more intelligent than we?"). In Toulouse I heard a former policeman say that as soon as Mendès-France was in power "everything was settled in advance—by the French, American, and Russian Jews." It was odd, ten years after the war, to find traces of Vichy ideology in southwestern France; however, its importance should not be exaggerated. The dominant feeling was gratitude that "France had at last found a statesman."

At the same time it is recognized that an enormous amount remains to be done. In the train from Bordeaux to Toulouse I shared a compartment with three French non-commissioned officers who talked freely and with real anxiety about North Africa. They hoped that Mendès-France would deal with that situation as well as he had with Indo-China—*"c'est un type très fort, celui-là."*

As for E. D. C., nearly everywhere I went I found most people against it. Again there was hope that Mendès-France would "dodge the American maneuvers to drag us into that hornet's nest." "Still," said a cafe proprietor in the Dordogne, "he ought to go carefully about it; he will have to be smart. We don't want them to get mad at us and cut off all aid overnight. For the present we still need it." The curé at Vignac, though an old Pétainist (and he didn't mind admitting it), thought Mendès-France was a "most intelligent man" and would do well to turn down E. D. C. "We have had more than enough of the Germans, you know. We remember the shootings and the deportations and the burned villages. If we don't care much for E. D. C., it's understandable, don't you think?"

RED HUNT IN MIAMI

Who Formed the Posse? . . . *by Leslie B. Bain*

Miami, Florida

WHILE convicted killers seem to have little trouble getting bail in the greater Miami area, things are different for persons who plead the Fifth Amendment before the local grand jury. Judge George E. Holt of the Dade County Court has denied bail to four persons sentenced to one-year jail terms for contempt of the grand jury and to another person sentenced to ninety days for the same crime. By the time this article appears in print, bail is likely to have been denied to six additional defendants. Nor is this the end. If Miami officials are to be believed and the state Supreme Court does not interfere, at least thirty Miamians who would not confess their politics to the grand jury will find themselves in prison, and some pessimists are guessing that the number will ultimately reach a hundred or more.

However, there are signs that the witch-hunters may have overreached themselves. Their activities in the last few weeks have taken an unpleasant turn toward anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, with an occasional hint of incitement to mob violence, and this might well doom the phenomenal growth of the Greater Miami area as a vacation spot. Concern over this latest outburst of McCarthyism is therefore spreading.

The anti-Red excitement was first whipped up by a recent series of articles in the Miami *Daily News* on Red infiltration of the area in 1946-48, written by Al Spears, who claims to have been an undercover agent for the F. B. I., and Damon Runyon, Jr., a self-styled Red expert on the paper's staff. On the conclusion of the series the new State Attorney of Dade County, George A. Brautigam, began to summon before the grand jury the persons named in the articles for questioning under Florida's so-called little Smith Act. All these persons invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment as well as Article 12 of the Florida constitution. The State Attorney's position was that according to the terms of the act the statute of limitations applied only to events within the last two years and that the persons summoned must answer all questions about earlier events or be held in contempt. Judge Holt agreed. The Supreme Court of Florida has announced that it will hold hearings on the appeals on September 14 and has meanwhile permitted three of the defendants to be released on bail.

Two early symptoms of the witch-hunting fever were the story in the *Daily News* that the Unitarian Church of Miami had been infiltrated by the Reds and the disbarment proceedings instituted against Leo Sheiner, a Miami lawyer formerly connected with the

LESLIE B. BAIN, a former newspaper columnist and radio news analyst, is the author of "War of Confusion."

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Southern Conference of Human Welfare. Sheiner is apparently a pet hate of Runyon, Jr., who dubbed him "the secret czar of the Communists here." The pastor of the Unitarian church, the Reverend Joseph Barth, in a specially prepared sermon, "When Fear Strikes Our Community," rebuked the "spiritual disease" which leads to authoritarianism, and referring to those of his congregation who were named as members of a Red cell, said, "Let no person, however great his sin . . . ever remove himself from membership in this church." Runyon and Spears said they were not attacking the church, only some of its members.

The great majority of the persons named in the articles were Jewish. And with one exception all those sentenced or about to be sentenced for invoking the Fifth Amendment are Jewish. An ironic twist to the anti-Semitic theme is that the disbarment proceedings against Sheiner were filed by a young Jewish lawyer, Ellis S. Rubin, who admitted that he was picked for the job by Colonel Younger, head of Miami's Crime Commission, because he could not be accused of anti-Semitic bias. Significantly, of all the alleged "Reds" named so far by Spear, only those with Jewish or foreign names have been subpoenaed by the State Attorney.

THE simultaneous rise of anti-Catholicism in Miami is part of the political picture in Dade County. Both Sheriff Kelly and State Attorney Brautigam were strongly supported by Catholics. Some priests spoke out in their churches in behalf of both men. Dade County, however, is predominantly Protestant with a fairly large Jewish community and feels considerable resentment at the political activities of the Catholic church and the maneuvers of Brautigam.

The Brautigam-Runyon-Spears shenanigans are beginning to annoy the press too. One of the most respected writers on the Miami *Herald* is being attacked because he dared to belittle the Spears revelations, saying that Spears had peddled his inside information to him and he had declined to use it. Spears denies this, Runyon hints that the writer may be "afraid of something," and Brautigam's office thinks that the *Herald* is "infiltrated." The *News* too is becoming leary of Brautigam, though it stood for the flamboyant Spears-Runyon series.

The "revelations" of Spears and Runyon were in the main a rehash of an earlier series by Paul Crouch (see *The Nation,* April 10). Spears claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1946 to 1948. During this time a Communist Party official who was in the investment and lending business gave him money to buy a bankrupt bus line. The alleged purpose of this was to enable the Transport Workers' Union to take over the bus-drivers' union. But the bus line was thrown into receivership and the bus-drivers' union remained non-Communist. The same mysterious Communist official who gave Spears the money to buy the bus line tried to lease, through Spears, the then idle Opa-locka Naval Air Station. Two versions of this story are told. Spears says that the Communist wanted to establish a "model village," Soviet style. Joseph Mazzei, another "F. B. I. undercover agent," asserts that the Opa-locka property was to be used as an invasion base for the Red army.

When I was investigating these stories, I tried to get official answers to two questions. First, if the national security was so gravely involved between 1946 and 1948, and if, as Spears says, he reported regularly to the F. B. I., why was not action taken at once against the conspirators? Second, who decided that June, 1954, was the proper time to deal with these matters and why?

Special Agent Powers of the F. B. I. declined to comment on the questions, but he did point out that the F. B. I. uses a great many voluntary informers who are not F. B. I. agents. Spears, interviewed in Mr. Brautigam's office, volunteered the information that he had been instructed by the F. B. I. to take his story to the State Attorney, who would know how to use it. He had not done so before because he was pledged to secrecy by the F. B. I. He said he did not know why the F. B. I. decided to present the material to the newly elected Brautigam, but he surmised that Brautigam was "reliable and acceptable." Spears was at great pains to explain that he received no rewards for his exposures, although there is evidence that he is slated to become the well-salaried director of the newly formed Subversion Commission of Greater Miami, an offshoot of the Miami Crime Commission.

The central legal issue is Brautigam's use of the legal machinery of Dade County, contrary to numerous decisions by American state and federal courts. In several notable cases the United States Supreme Court has held (1) that since testimony before local grand juries can be used by federal authorities against the witness, persons appearing before local grand juries are entitled to protect themselves from state as well as from federal prosecution, (2) that the statute of limitations does not apply where witnesses are asked questions which may forge "a link in the chain of evidence" in case of conspiracy, (3) that witnesses are entitled to refuse to name other persons if they fear those persons may furnish evidence against them.

WHEN I asked those who had been jailed or expected to be jailed why they felt in need of the protection of the Fifth Amendment I found they were dominated by fear that Brautigam was trying to trap them into becoming open to a perjury charge. They reasoned that in the present inflamed atmosphere juries would take the word of a professional witness against them no matter how often or how thoroughly that witness might be discredited. Several of those cited for contempt had never seen or heard of Al Spears—this was admitted by Spears. He had linked them to the "conspiracy" by the simple expedient of saying he had heard them mentioned as Communists by other Communists.

The victims of the witch hunt include professional people, business men, and labor leaders. Charles Smolikoff, a former C. I. O. organizer, and Michael Shantzek, a house painter and World War II veteran, were the first to be jailed. The next three were Philip Feldman, a photographer; Jose Carbonell, a Cuban-born carpenter who has become an American citizen, and Morris Rohinsky, also a painter. The six who are awaiting sentences as this is written are Charles Marks, a filling-station operator, and his son, Walter; Max Schlafrock, a building contractor; Mrs. Leah Adler Benemovsky; Dr. H. D. Prensky, a dentist and a former officer of the American Veterans Committee; and David Lippert, an airplane mechanic

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who was an active member of the former Transport Workers' Union (C. I. O.). Schlafrock, holder of an official recommendation for excellence in building construction from the Miami municipality, was the victim of a weird plot: a forged order for an advertisement was sent to the *Daily Worker* together with a check to which his name was forged. Exposure of the fraud saved neither his freedom nor his business, and he was finally forced to sell out. Still to be called before the grand jury are several housewives, a business woman, and some witnesses from whom the prosecution hopes to obtain corroboration for Spears's unsupported charges.

Some observers believe that two factors will determine how many prosecutions there will be—the reaction of the community to Brautigam's efforts to advance his political career, and the time that elapses before one of the cases can be taken into a federal court.

LABOR HELPS ITSELF

Amalgamated Welfare Plan . . *by Eleanor Astor*

[*Some of the great American trade unions have evolved from purely collective-bargaining organizations into institutions of much broader social significance. Millions in union funds are being invested annually to meet a wide variety of the worker's needs—his health, education, leisure, sometimes even his banking and retail-shopping requirements. Here is the first of a series of articles dealing with this relatively new development in American labor. A second article, on the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund, will follow shortly.*]

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.) celebrated its fortieth anniversary last May. For its 385,000 members the occasion commemorated forty years of progress from the sweatshop to security. Other unions joined in the congratulations, for the whole labor world had benefited from the Amalgamated's pioneering in the field of social welfare.

Founded in 1914 by a small group of insurgent idealists revolting from a dormant union, the Amalgamated had grown into a strong, forward-looking organization. When disease-ridden sweatshops, fire-trap factories, long hours of homework at low pay had been abolished, the union had gone on to new social activities. Under the leadership of its founder, Sidney Hillman, it had opened its own banks, sponsored cooperative housing, established the first system of unemployment insurance on a large scale, introduced new ways of achieving labor-management peace, and finally worked out employer-financed health-insurance and pension programs. Today, under Jacob S. Potofsky as president, the Amalgamated has a comprehensive system of health, life, accident-disability, hospitalization, maternity, surgical, and old-age benefits throughout the industry.

When other unions were content with bargaining for gains on a day-to-day basis, the Amalgamated held to the belief that a worker should receive something more for his labor than a scanty wage. It refused to admit that a human being was a mere commodity to be sold to the highest bidder and then, when his usefulness was spent, thrown into the street. Sidney Hillman, who played a leading role in bringing about many of the social reforms of the New Deal era, summed up the union's philosophy as follows: "A labor union must consider more than wages and hours. A man who gives his life to an industry should be assured of support when he is too ill or too old to work."

As soon as the Amalgamated was firmly established, it launched the first of its series of social-welfare programs. In 1922 and 1923 it opened savings banks in Chicago and New York and could provide its members with important small loan services, building loans, and home-owner mortgages. Efficiently run and careful in their investments, these were the only union banks that weathered the depression of the 1930's. They are now successfully doing business, with over $90,000,000 in deposits.

It was in the twenties also that the Amalgamated became the first union to undertake low-cost cooperative housing projects. Today these provide 2,500 families on New York's lower East Side and in the Bronx with decent air, light, and space for recreation at modest rentals.

During the same period the union launched an unemployment-insurance system in the large clothing center of Chicago and soon extended this to New York, Rochester, and other cities. Contributions by employers and employees were set aside in a fund to provide for the worker and his family in the event of unemployment. As a result, when the depression developed, the men's clothing industry was the only one to have a going system of unemployment insurance on a large scale.

WITH the passage of the federal Social Security Act of 1935 and the absorption by the government of some of the burden of unemployment compensation, the Amalgamated could further its own insurance program. In Chicago the workers' unemployment payments were suspended with the employers' consent, and in 1938 the union used the fund as the basis of a life- and health-insurance program. Instead of dealing with commercial insurance companies, it established its own. The Amalgamated Life Insurance Company of Illinois was formed to administer the social-insurance fund for Chicago members; the Amalgamated

ELEANOR G. ASTOR is managing editor of the Advance, *the newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*

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Life Insurance Company of New York, to handle a nation-wide insurance system. In a few states, owing to special regulations, the Equitable Life Assurance Society handles the business.

By running its companies on a non-profit basis, the union has been able to obtain the largest possible benefits from the employers' contributions. In 1953, for example, the New York company reported that 94.1 cents of every dollar received went either into direct insurance benefits or toward reserves for future benefits. In commercial companies administrative and overhead expenses often run as high as 20 per cent of premiums.

The administrative and actuarial methods employed are subject to state and federal regulation, and initial premiums for specified benefits are therefore fixed by law. Coupled with the companies' economical operation, this permits savings to be accumulated. Consequently, funds are available at all times to meet every contingency. Retiring members get their pensions from the date of application; they do not have to wait because of an insufficient reserve. Funds are safely invested in government bonds.

Practically every year has brought new types of coverage and increases in benefits. Today members who have worked for any contributing employer for at least six months receive insurance payments. What is more, since July, 1950, weekly disability benefits have been made available to members after only four weeks of employment. Members receive pensions at the age of sixty-five after having worked twenty years in the industry.

At present the Amalgamated Insurance Company of New York handles thirteen separate funds created by various industries and branches which have collective-bargaining agreements with the Amalgamated. More than 5,500 employers contribute from 3 to 6 per cent of their weekly pay rolls to these funds. Union members pay nothing except in Chicago, where they contribute 1½ per cent of their pay to receive additional benefits.

The Amalgamated Life Insurance Company of New York is controlled by a board consisting of twelve union representatives, twelve employer representatives, and the union's president, Jacob S. Potofsky, who also serves as the president of the company. Hyman Blumberg, executive vice-president of both the union and the company, represents the union's officers in supervising all welfare programs. The Chicago company is administered in a similar manner.

THE scope of the insurance program is indicated by the fact that after one year of operation the union's companies paid out $818,000 in death and disability benefits to 8,700 clothing workers. Over the years a total of $44,608,516.02 has been disbursed for life-insurance benefits and $22,423,633.50 for retirement benefits. In the two-year period 1952-53, $16,643,596.36 was paid out in life, health, and retirement benefits. The union's program was greatly enlarged recently when 176,000 dependents of members in the men's clothing and cotton-garment industries were brought under hospitalization coverage. The largest reserve is kept for retirement benefits.

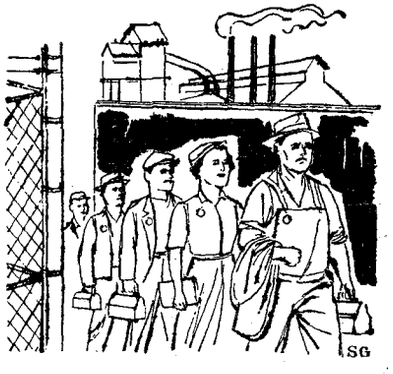
The economic structure of the industry, the chronic instability of employment, and the consequent movement of workers from shop to shop made it necessary to establish the benefit program on an industry-wide basis. Benefits vary slightly from industry to industry, ranging from $500 to $1000 for death. For sickness, payments average $20 a week for up to thirteen weeks, in addition to thirteen weeks for accidents in any twelve-month period. Retirement pensions in addition to social security range from $25 to $50 a month.

But the program means something more to the workers than dollars and cents. As a laundry worker once said at an Amalgamated convention, "Figures don't mean much. But when you say that sick benefits mean that a girl in the laundry no longer has to stand at her mangle until she drops because she is ill, she knows what that means. When you say to an expectant mother, 'You can have a few weeks off to have that youngster,' she knows what that means. And when you no longer have to take up a collection in your shop because you are afraid a member will be buried in Potter's Field, you know what death benefits mean."

The Amalgamated enlarged its social-welfare coverage in 1951 when the joint board in New York and Philadelphia opened clinics for ambulatory patients. Funds totaling $2,300,000 were contributed for this purpose by the union and the employers. As a result, the Sidney Hillman Health Centers were established in New York and Philadelphia to provide members and their dependents with complete diagnostic and therapeutic aid, including minor surgery, free of charge.

Both the New York and the Philadelphia center launched research programs three years ago for which $400,000 has been appropriated. The New York center has confined its research to the causes of arteriosclerosis; the Philadelphia center has been studying other diseases common among the clothing workers. Having a large sample of the population at its disposal, the New York project has already discovered a new diagnostic approach to arteriosclerosis which may lead to its recognition at an earlier stage and thus to a reduction of the high death rate from diseases of the heart and blood vessels.

Two new health centers will be completed by the end of 1954. One will serve the 18,000 members of the Laundry Workers' Joint Board of New York and the other the members employed in Chicago. When these are completed, some 100,000 members will be provided



with medical services they otherwise could not afford. Other centers are scheduled for Cleveland and Allentown.

At the Amalgamated's fifteenth biennial convention in 1946, the last one he attended before his death, Sidney Hillman said: "We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty." The union is working steadily toward this end.

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BOOKS

A Century of "Walden"

BY LEWIS LEARY

IT SEEMS almost a miracle that Thoreau's "Walden" has survived to its centennial. When it appeared on August 9, 1854, it was dismissed by the *North American Review* as "more curious than useful," worth reading only for its "suggestive quality." *Putnam's Magazine* explained Thoreau as "a Yankee Diogenes" who lived like a gipsy, a squatter on another man's land. The *Knickerbocker Magazine* compared him to P. T. Barnum—one was a town, the other a country, humbug. It was eight years before Ticknor and Fields, the publishers, managed to sell off the first printing of two thousand copies.

But in the hundred years since then at least 132 editions have appeared—more than 60 of them in the last 25 years. "Walden" may be read in English, German, French, Dutch, Russian, Czech, Italian, Spanish, or Japanese. It may be purchased in limited editions, handsomely illustrated, or in paperbacks. It has traveled far beyond Concord, to become text and solace for people everywhere who dare strip life to essentials. Like Darwin and Marx, Thoreau emerged from the mid-nineteenth century to suggest directions for many men.

But not in his lifetime. Not even for decades after his death. Thoreau's reputation in his own country was warped for generations by the wittily condescending remarks of James Russell Lowell, who wrote him off as a strange fish, so insistent on recording the state of his personal thermometer that he became repulsive to sensible men. He was a minor Emerson, distinctive only in eccentricity. Christian reformers pigeonholed him as in every social sense a sterile man. He devoted his life, said the *Catholic World* in 1878, to "desultory study and admiration of nature, and got for his worship a bronchial affliction" of which he died.

A small band of devoted friends in Concord or stemming from Concord were loyal in his defense, but that mainly made matters worse. They pleaded too hard and for the wrong reasons. What sensible American would take seriously the plaudits of such a queer specimen as Bronson Alcott, who could not support his family, or Ellery Channing, who couldn't keep a wife? Even Emerson seemed to admit that Thoreau was to be admired for negative, stoic qualities. At best he was a curious primitive who was familiar with woodchucks and caught fish with his bare hands, not a leader of men but captain of a huckleberry party.

IN ENGLAND, Thoreau fared rather better at first and very much better as the century drew to a close. George Eliot welcomed "Walden" as "a bit of true American life," demonstrating "that energetic yet calm spirit of innovation" characteristic of "finer American minds." The Scotch littérateur H. A. Page hailed Thoreau as a modern St. Francis who "went to nature as an individualist, and came back a prophet of society." Theodore Watts-Dunton called him a true "child of the open air" because he knew the wind, knew that animals were not really dumb, and understood the sophism which lay at the heart of the modern concept of work.

Though Robert Louis Stevenson, as gracefully witty and condescending as Lowell, dismissed Thoreau as an antisocial ascetic, a skulker who lacked manliness or grace, the American was read seriously in England by other young men who in the later decades of the century strove for social or political reform. To them he was a revolutionist whose own practice had resulted in precepts useful to forward-looking men. While in America he remained an inspirer of bird walks and nature study clubs, he became in England an "idealist who looked through the outer husk and surface of life and saw the true reality."

Thus the Christian Socialist Thomas Hughes, principal of the Workingman's College in London, enthusiastically recommended Thoreau's notion that there was "something simpler and nobler" than the "trappings and baggage of social life." And the Fabian Edward Carpenter described Thoreau in his widely circulated "England's Ideal" as a "thorough economist" who reduced life to its simplest terms, establishing for all men an understanding of the relationship between labor and the rewards of labor. It is not Thoreau the woodchuck man but Thoreau the champion of individualism, in "vigorous protest against that artificiality in life and literature which constitutes one of the chief dangers of our complex civilization," who emerges from his biography as written by the Englishman Henry Salt—a book now more than sixty years old but still the most satisfactory exposition of Thoreau's life.

In Robert Blatchford's popular Socialist tract which he called "Merrie England," Thoreau is quoted as an authority side by side with John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, and Henry George, and "Walden" is recommended to the English proletariat as a text worth cherishing. H. M. Tomlinson recalls that hundreds of Blatchford's young disciples carried Thoreau's book in their pockets, and that workingmen's clubs in English industrial areas were often called "Walden societies." It has been suggested that the first British Labor government can be traced directly to ardent young reformers influenced by Thoreau. Indeed, as George Whicher has said, the chapter on Economy in "Walden" became a "minor gospel of the British Labor Party because of its uncompromising emphasis, not on reform, but on proceeding at once to realize the ultimate values of life and on living only for them."

As the century ended, Thoreau reached Holland also, where Frederik Van Eeden established at his home not far from Amsterdam a Socialist colony devoted to literature and political reform and called it Walden. Soon afterward he reached Gandhi in South

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LEWIS LEARY, professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of "That Rascal Freneau" and other writings on American literature.

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Africa, and portions of Thoreau's doctrine of civil disobedience were transplanted to India, where they became the effective core of the passive-resistance movement.

SO WHILE in the United States critics argued over whether Thoreau was a scientist or a poet, a naturalist or a humanist, and whether or not he was a bitter man disappointed that what he searched for in life and letters eluded him, men in Europe and Asia were discovering in what he said something fundamentally revolutionary and eminently practical. It was not until the second and third decades of our century that Thoreau in his own country was finally rescued from the nature cultists and the little band who idolized him. In the 1920's and 1930's Parrington, Canby, and many like them cut him to fit the pattern of new social consciousness in America. Today young men read him seriously in their newer literary spirit, with Freud and Eliot at their elbows.

But a review of what has been thought and said of Thoreau during the last hundred years in the United States is a disquieting thing. Many fine minds have touched him, but few have probed deeply. Fewer have written of him with the fundamental simplicity which his own probing simplicity deserves.

If it seems almost a miracle, though a pleasant miracle, that "Walden" has survived the lack of consistently intelligent response in the United States and what may appear today the alarmingly revolutionary response abroad, it seems, as has often been said, equally a miracle that a book so potentially incendiary is allowed today on public shelves where its doctrines can contaminate contemporaries to thinking as Thoreau thought. There is some good spirit abroad in our land which watches over books like "Walden," which allows them to live on in spite of what is done or not done to them. It is satisfying to know that, even were it banned or burned, something of the quiet, decent spirit of "Walden" would survive because it has become part of us and part of the questing and American spirit we most admire.

Cry Enough!

A FABLE. By William Faulkner. Random House. $4.75.

By Carlos Baker

THIS remarkable story centers on the origin, development, and aftermath of the mutiny of a French regiment in the trenches one Monday night in May, 1918. Its intellectual and to some extent its emotional force arises from the fact that Faulkner has chosen to project his story through a modern and ironic version of the ministry, the betrayal, the passion, the death, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. As the false, mutiny-induced armistice comes to an end and the novel moves toward its Easter Sunday dénouement, images and events flower into recognizable parallelisms: the Last Supper, the triple denial, the Judas figure, the execution between thieves, Mary-Martha-Magdalene, the crown of thorns, the burial, the disappearance of the body, and even an ironic suggestion of resurrection.

Neither his theme nor his method should occasion great surprise among regular readers of Faulkner. Both are extensions rather than essential innovations. All his best work—"The Sound and the Fury," "As I Lay Dying," "Light in August," "Absalom Absalom," and "The Hamlet"—has employed themes and images derived from the Bible. Several short stories, as well as novels like "The Wild Palms" and "Pylon," have left the environs of Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. He has dealt with war before in "Sartoris" and "The Unvanquished." The freshness here is in the recombination of familiar elements, and the fascination is to watch them being inexorably fitted into that complex, interlocking, cross-indexed mosaic work which comprises Faulkner's narrative method.

Nine years in the making, the novel is datelined, after the manner of Joyce's "Ulysses," "Oxford-New York-Princeton, December, 1944-November, 1953." The comparison with Joyce is instructive. Both books are modern fables, moral by intent, ironic by execution. Where Joyce used a Homeric mythus, Faulkner's ground-pattern is the most celebrated story in the Hebraic-Christian tradition. For unity and intensity Joyce concentrates his action into a single passionate day. For the same and other reasons Faulkner confines his own within the limits of Passion Week. Both novels are over-long, too heavily populated with rather shadowy minor figures. Vast stretches in both books strain the reader's patience by what seems like unnecessary complication or obscurantism. Sometimes both writers appear to revel unduly in the manipulation of rhetorical language, though both, when they choose, can handle straight narrative like old masters. In brief, different as the two novels are, Faulkner's work ascends into virtues and succumbs to

CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

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temptations not unlike those which distinguished, but also diminished, Joyce's huge opus of thirty-odd years ago.

The memorable opening, deliberate, impersonal, and massive as a passage from Hardy's "Dynasts," comes in Paris on a Wednesday morning. An enormous crowd has converged to see the arrival of a fleet of army trucks bearing the three thousand mutineers. One vehicle contains the illiterate thirty-three-year-old corporal and his twelve squad members. To these thirteen can be traced the central event of Monday morning—the zero-hour refusal of an entire regiment to attack. The French command pulled out the regiment, thrust in replacements, and laid down a heavy barrage to keep the Germans out of the gap. Yet the Germans did not move either: the conspiratorial message had reached them from the same source, spreading like light among the common soldiers. By noon all guns were silent along the French sector; by mid-afternoon the undeclared armistice had extended across the whole front from the Alps to the sea. For this long, anyhow, no one had been killed in anger in what Faulkner calls the "ancient familiar abattoir" of France. Now the mutineers have come to judgment. And Gragnon, commander of their division, is urging the higher echelons to shoot them all.

AS ALWAYS in Faulkner, the reader is not so much told or given this information: the oblique narrative method compels him to glean it through the eyes, minds, chance remarks, or incidental observations of a variety of participant characters. The corporal, one slowly learns, was born in a stable somewhere in the Middle East at Christmas, 1885. He was brought first to Beirut, then to Europe. His relatives live on a small farm near the village of Vienne-la-Pucelle, north of St. Mihiel. He has rescued and rehabilitated a Marseilles prostitute whom he intends to marry. Since the beginning of the war he has been quietly at work in France. He wears a blue uniform; his papers are in perfect shape; his squad has gathered round him. Like him they seem to move at will among the soldiery of the embattled nations. At intervals they disappear and return, A. W. O. L.'s who are never reported. The corporal is said by a British colonel to have been killed in a cavalry charge in 1914; he is said by an American captain to have died of influenza and been buried at sea from an American transport in 1917. Yet for over a year now he has been known "among all combat troops below the grade of sergeant" in the Allied armies.

"You don't need to understand," says an aged British private to a message-runner. "Just go and look at him." "Him?" says the runner. "So it's just one now?" "Wasn't it just one before?" says the old private. "Wasn't one then enough to tell us the same thing all them two thousand years ago: that all we ever needed to do was just to say, Enough of this—us, not even the sergeants and corporals, but just us, all of us, Germans and Colonials and Frenchmen and all the other foreigners in the mud here, saying together: Enough. Let them that's already dead and maimed and missing be enough of this—a thing so easy and simple that even human man, as full of evil and sin and folly as he is, can understand and believe it this time. Go and look at him."

The runner, as it happens, never meets the corporal face to face, though converted to the cause, like St. Paul, and spreading the gospel wherever he can persuade or harass listeners into attention, not only while the corporal lives but long after the execution and the war are over. Even when we are brought into the corporal's presence in the Paris prison, or watch a priest of God commit bayonet suicide for not having recognized and followed him before, we see him as through a glass darkly. He remains, no doubt by the author's intent, an enigmatic figure. Yet supremely dangerous, too; not to be tolerated in a world organized to continue what the French Maréchal calls man's "most expensive and fatal vice . . . so long ingrained in man as to have become an honorable tenet of his behavior and the national altar for his love of bloodshed and glorious sacrifice . . . a pillar of his national survival." War is now, says the Maréchal, the last recourse of politics, and it will soon become the last refuge from bankruptcy. "A nation insolvent from overpopulation will declare war on whatever richest and most sentimental opponent it can persuade to defeat it quickest, in order to feed its people out of the conqueror's quartermaster stores."

In the Witch-Hunting Season

I tell you, don't trust the living. Their eyes
go mad for practice. They're possessed, possessing.
Give them one good Friday and they're up and ready

with nails and religions. Hysteria's their mother.
There's a scratch in them that won't heal.
They have twelve fingers sticky with bleeding.

Get thin. Put by some dying before you're owned
hock shank and marrow, and out nailing Jews
for fat reasons. Get a grave behind you.

What else made the Sahara a saints' suburb
and singed the mob at the city gates when the bones
strolled back as easy as gypsies, all their own?

Ask Ezra at St. Elizabeth's mismanaging
a dozen languages in a rage of tricks
to pile all Hells into one dictionary.

Ask Blake head first in the tiger's mouth. Ask Donne
being bad for God. Asking Byron being bad.
Ask Dr. Johnson what he's doing dead

when grammar's cracking wider every day—
paid-in-full Lazarus, the one safe
man in all dangerous Judea, is my saint.

JOHN CIARDI

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Against this contingency stands the equally terrible simplicity of the corporal's message: cry Enough, and back it up with action for peace. Whoever understands it has seen the corporal face to face, whether in the flesh or not, and called by whatever name.

Most of the other available attitudes toward war are summed up through subordinate characters. To the division commander Gragnon it is a profession; to the caricatured and stagy German lieutenant general who flies over the front lines for a conference it is a religion; to the American Buchwald, a prelude to gangsterism; to the Maréchal, a challenge in the statesmanship of survival. For Levine, the naive young aviator, a Sartoris-like figure, it is a romance followed swiftly by an overpowering disillusion. For the Quartermaster General it is a sick disgust from which he cannot resign. To the bandy-legged British groom (Harry, 'Arry, Mister 'Arry, Mistairy, Mystery), whose story is a revised version of Faulkner's previously published "Notes on a Horse Thief," war is a business, a money-lending private insurance business among the common soldiers, over whom his influence is almost godlike. Even though the story of his abduction and exploitation of the wonderful three-legged horse is intrinsically a great yarn, it seems intrusive in this new context. Still, his allegorical right to be present is clear enough. He is the type of the eternal gambler. When the Pauline message-runner would persuade the groom to use his great influence in the corporal's cause, old Harry, old anti-Christ, kicks him in the face and tries to bash in his head with a rifle butt.

BY THIRTY years of memorable work Faulkner has earned the right to his own methods of exposition, and one does not, therefore, attempt to revise him. Yet he has never been one to whom the matter of pace was of any special importance, and the pace, for a fact, of the whole middle part of the book is snail-like. Speeches are often prolonged past reason or requirement; seemingly extraneous detail is agonizingly built in; and biographical data on the representative men is occasionally excessive, as if Faulkner enjoyed inventing too much to stop. Rhetoric, a notable pace-slacker elsewhere in Faulkner, crops out like lava from time to time. The sunset gun at Paris does not merely thud: its sound is "a postulation of vacuum, as though back into its blast-vacated womb the regurgitated martial day had poured in one reverberant clap." The funeral train does not merely whistle; it makes a "sound of protest and insensate anguish and indictment of the hard dark earth it rushes over, the vast weight of sky it burrows frantically beneath, the constant and inviolable horizon it steadily clove." Through something more than half the novel the roadblocks are insistent.

About the 333d page, however, the pace quickens, the blocks fall away, and the novel rises with rapidity and assurance into its climactic phase, as good a hundred-page sequence as Faulkner has ever done. In this part of the book he exploits to the full—and perhaps a little beyond the full—the cosmic irony of man's periodic rejection of that power which, if ever accepted, would be the means to redemption. On the afternoon of Thursday, for example, great bands of common soldiers come out of the trenches again. Friendly and without arms, they move together, Allies and Germans, into no man's land. After the false armistice of Monday, of course, such fraternization is not to be countenanced. The batteries on both sides simultaneously open up on the soldiers in the foreground. The ministry is over, and the rulers of man begin, through persuasion, subterfuge, violence, and

CHURCHES IN SERIOUS INTELLECTUAL POSITION

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, The Nation is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Through no fault of their own, but by reason of dogmas inherited from the long past, the churches of today adhere to many beliefs that fail to square with disclosures of modern Biblical scholarship. The members and leaders of the churches are, in all cases, honest and sincere; but at the same time their dogmatic position obscures the past instead of illuminating the origins of religion. Statements of this kind, however, are necessarily vague and misleading unless the subject is made concrete.

All ancient heathen religion was wedded to political tyranny, social injustice, land monopoly, and personal immorality. The bitter struggle of the Hebrew prophets against Baal and other heathen gods was primarily and fundamentally a war against the things that heathen religion represented. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", declares Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard University. The struggle eventually took the form of a conflict between Yahweh, as protector of "the poor and needy", and Baal as god of the wealthy. The prophet Jeremiah states the situation as follows: "Baal hath devoured the labor of our fathers from our youth—their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters" (Jer. 3: 24. Cf. Jer. 11: 13).

The fight against "other gods", then, was not a mere philosophical opposition to deities that had no "real existence". It was a fight against an exploiting class that appealed to the cult of Baal as justifying their deeds and policies. The powerful campaign of the Hebrew prophets against Baal was the objective, historic force that led gradually up to the belief in One God who requires mankind to do social justice.

And yet, the agonizing warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the exploiting class in the Hebrew nation has been transformed into respectability by statements such as the following: "The Bible stands for the true God against gods that have no real existence". Statements like the foregoing obscure Hebrew history and hide from view the essential features of the Bible. Misunderstanding of Scripture took its rise many centuries ago in connection with the development of what is called "Orthodox Belief". The churches of today have inherited their beliefs from the churches of the ancient Roman empire; and even among modern progressive people, the atmosphere of orthodoxy is more powerful than many would like to admit. But these misleading beliefs will sooner or later be expelled by the disclosures of modern Biblical scholarship as cultivated in our outstanding universities and forward-looking theological seminaries.—Suggestions will be found in a circular that you can obtain by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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betrayal, the task of getting back to what men call normal. How the corporal's body is brought home for burial, how a barrage and a battle exhume and lose the body, how a squad of soldiers, having secured from Valaumont Fortress an anonymous cadaver for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, trade it for brandy to a demented war widow, how they find a substitute in a ravaged field north of St. Mihiel, and how years after the war's end the crippled message-runner appears at the Maréchal's funeral with the corporal's medal and (still) the corporal's message—these stories provide the dénouement of the book. It is a good series of interwoven stories, and it is a good message that the message-runner brings. As for his experience at the funeral, it is about what one would have expected. He gets his teeth kicked in again.

A Backward Glance

POLITICS AND OPINION IN THE 19TH CENTURY. By John Bowle. Oxford. $4.50.

By Leon Edel

FROM the vantage point of the mid-twentieth century John Bowle has cast a long and penetrating backward glance over the political thinking of the nineteenth. It is not an easy thing to do, to hold the skeins of a century's thought in one's hand while carefully unraveling the many-colored threads. Yet he has done it, and we see the romantic thinkers taking over from the rationalists; we walk the pathways of the creative will, intuition, and liberalism; and when we reach Darwin the ideas of "improvement" and of "continuing prosperity" promoting reasonableness and compassion emerge as central to the first half of the preceding century.

The second half feels the impact of Darwin and of Marx and Engels, that is, of science and the age of man, and the assaulters of intrenched property. In this period Lord Acton is one of Mr. Bowle's heroes. He has the "constructive view," and indeed his warning, long ago, that "state absolutism is the modern danger" was a very modern warning indeed. It was Acton who for himself "renounced everything in Catholicism which was not compatible with liberty and everything in politics which was not compatible with Catholicism." His outlook, Bowle says, "remains one of the most powerful and elaborate expressions of the universal human instinct for mutual aid."

Bowle's conclusions, after his close survey, are that "the political misuse of science should be arrested and political thought swiftly directed to that end." Men are still enslaved, he holds, "by obsolete nineteenth-century metaphysical myths of inevitable national and class conflict." The answer he offers is a new humanism—rationality, respect for law, compassion ("the impulse to mutual aid"), and liberty. "To realize more fully these ancient principles in political terms is to adapt our institutions to the supreme fact of our time, the cosmically destructive power of science misused."

All this is admirable and highly relevant for the era of the H-bomb. But our quiet walk through the dense forest of nineteenth-century ideas and the conclusions drawn from them offer only a partial and perhaps a too long-range answer to the immediacy of the world's barbaric weapons. The ideas expressed by Bowle, based on great learning and lucid thinking, speak for civilization at its highest, whereas other (and powerful) voices of our time speak only for bigger and better explosives. The historical truth for which we have no answer yet is that even when prophetic voices have thundered their mightiest warnings against impending disasters, civilizations have chronically toppled.

LEON EDEL is the author of "Henry James: The Untried Years."

Records

B. H. Haggin

HERE is a report on a batch of London records:

Another performance of Brahms's Variations on a theme of Paganini for piano, this one by Charles Rosen, is on a 10-inch record—one book on each side. It is far superior to the performance by Abbey Simon that I reviewed recently—the superiority being in its greater fineness of tone, texture, articulation of passagework, and phrasing, as compared with what now sounds like the coarseness of the Simon performance. I don't understand why Rosen pauses long between some variations and not at all between others; but this is a small matter. The recorded piano sound is shallow, requiring stepping up of bass to give it solidity.

London also gives us another performance—this one by Gulda with the London Philharmonic under Boult—of Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 1, as beautiful a work as he ever wrote, and one that it is astounding to realize he wrote at twenty. Uninsky's playing on the Epic record, last year, seemed to me graceful and unaffected; but it is surpassed in these respects by Gulda's, which in addition is more distinctly reproduced (except for an occasional bit of delicate fioritura that isn't clear). There are a few places where Gulda's playing works up to a vehemence that seems to me excessive for this music—especially for the dream-like second movement; but more disturbing are the places where Boult slows up enormously for a climactic return of the ritornello. I might add that the *most* beautiful playing I have heard in this work is Horszowski's, which unfortunately is not repoduced distinctly by the Vox record much of the time.

Three great organ pieces by Bach—the Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C, the Prelude and Fugue in A minor, and the Chorale-Prelude "Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland"—are on another record with the early Fugue in G (à la gigue) and the Chorale-Preludes "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein" from the Orgelbüchlein and "Jesus Christus unser Heiland" from the Klavierübung. Jeanne Demessieux's performances are excellent—the one of the Toccata in C being the best I have heard on records so far; and the thick sound of the organ in Victoria Hall, Geneva, is reproduced quite clearly in all the

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pieces except the Prelude and Fugue in A minor. I am afraid that the extraordinarily beautiful sound of the Holtkamp organ in Yale's Battell Chapel that comes off the Overtone record of Scheidt's "Tabalatura Nova" is going to make most organ recording unsatisfactory to me.

The performances of Bach's Suites No. 2 for flute and strings and No. 3 for oboes, trumpets, drums, and strings by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger have the over-deliberate tempos and consequent stodginess in some of the dance movements that made me not care for the same musicians' performances of the Brandenburg concertos. And the soloist in No. 2 isn't first-rate either as a flutist or a musician.

Concerning Debussy's "Jeux," played beautifully by Ansermet and his Orchestre de la Suisse romande, I can only say again what I said when I heard it last. Composed in 1912 for Nijinsky's ballet, it sounds, when played as a concert piece, like an orchestral etude, an exercise in the Debussy orchestral idiom and style; and it is a curious experience to hear familiar bits of writing, previously associated with various images, now associated with nothing; but also an unsatisfactory experience to hear a succession of such details without the coherence that would be imparted to them by the movements of the ballet, and without the internal coherence that would make it something to listen to for itself.

Some old French airs are engaging and moving as sung beautifully by the baritone Gerard Souzay on a 10-incher. They include two folksongs of the Auvergne which are described as "freely set" by Canteloube; but I have come to feel that Canteloube's accompaniments for these songs—for example, in the Madeleine Grey volume—are much too free.

The fresh, clear, powerful, but not attractive tenor voice of Gianni Poggi is heard in *Ah! si ben mio* and *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore," an aria from "Luisa Miller," and some Puccini and Giordano, on another 10-incher.

And the fine bass voice of Raphael Arie is heard in Musorgsky's amusing "The Seminarist," his Song of the Flea, and songs by Glinka, Gretchaninov, and Lishin, also on a 10-incher.

Letters

People's Padre

Dear Sirs: In the review of Emmett McLoughlin's book "People's Padre" [*The Nation*, May 29] your unnamed reviewer allows one to infer that he is a "non-Catholic." His review belies that, or else he is painfully uninformed on the subject of which he writes. He states: "Nevertheless, it must be noted that Father McLoughlin had taken a vow of obedience to the Franciscan Order, a vow which he evaded and then broke." What your reviewer overlooked is that these vows are taken by idealistic youths without experience of life's true difficulties and when they discover that they have been tragically misled, why should they remain in mental and spiritual chains? Furthermore, in free America every citizen has a right to change his religion if he wants to.

Memorial Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona, which Mr. McLoughlin founded in 1944, was never a church institution under the jurisdiction of the hierarchy. In a showdown with the Roman Catholic church he had the backing of a large majority of the hospital's trustees. Thirteen of the sixteen trustees of the hospital were Masons and they strongly supported him.

There are two things about Phoenix Memorial Hospital which give it special distinction. One is its nursing home, to which students are admitted without regard to race or religion. The other is that in the emergency room Mr. McLoughlin had this notice posted for nurses and doctors: "Every patient brought to this hospital must be given emergency treatment before any financial questions are asked."

His book, in addition to being a faithful portrayal of an inspirational life, is also a vivid account of the behind-the-scenes activities of a totalitarian political-ecclesiastical regime which belongs in medieval Europe rather than in the United States of 1954.

NORMAN S. MEESE and
SAMUEL B. WOODBRIDGE

Washington, D. C.

Kierkegaard as Writer

Dear Sirs: As a life-long reader of *The Nation* I have usually thought that its reviews, however brief, were written by men competent to give a reliable idea of the contents of the book they were discussing. I have grave doubts whether this is the case with the reviewer of the book by Hohlenberg on Kierkegaard in your July 17 issue. Otherwise he would not have spoken of Kierkegaard as "that unresolved amalgam of rake and saint, artist, mystic, and logician," a description in which almost every word is erroneous. Nor was any man ever less "confused, diffused (!) . . . and half-articulate" than Kierkegaard, who wielded his Danish like a rapier. Also, to compare Kierkegaard's influence with Rousseau's shows your reviewer not entirely at home in the world of thought. LEE M. HOLLANDER

Austin, Tex.

Loyalty Oath

Dear Sirs: I do not believe in the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence, but anybody who did not believe in the overthrow of the government of Guatemala is a godless bolshevik and, more probably than not, an agent of the Soviet Union.

Long Beach, Calif. METEK VOLK

Some Complaints . . .

Dear Sirs: This is a brief letter to clear up some of the errors in Mr. Breslow's article on Students for America in your March 20 issue:

1. Mr. Robert Anderson has never contributed an article to the *American Student.*

2. The chapter at Fordham University has been officially recognized. (See the *Ram*, December 19, 1953.)

3. The organization has been quite successful in the East and is not limited to California.

ROBERT E. MATTHEWS, JR.
Member of the Eastern Region
Co-ordinating Council of Students for America

Hollywood, Calif.

. . . And the Answers

Dear Sirs: With reference to Mr. Matthews's complaints:

1. The author of the S. F. A. attacks on the University of Chicago was Robert V. Andelson. The name inadvertently appeared as Anderson in my article, but the error was duly noted in the Letters column of *The Nation* of April 17.

2. When the article was written, S. F. A. had not yet been officially recognized at Fordham. I am sorry to hear that it has now succeeded in winning recognition.

3. My article did not imply that S. F. A. has limited its activities to California. I merely wrote that "the organization appears to have been most successful" in that state. This is true.

Chicago, Ill. PAUL BRESLOW

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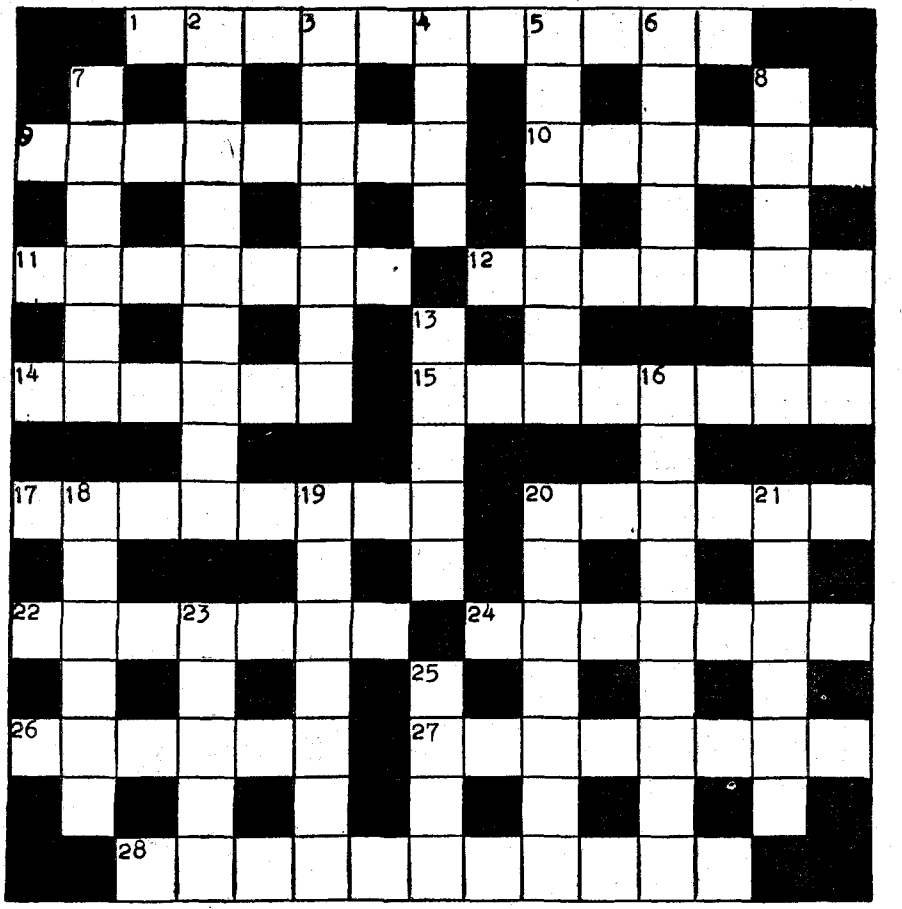
Crossword Puzzle No. 579

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 13 down.
9 A ringer in the field—evidently a comer. (8)
10 Is found in Terpsichore, for example, wrong. (6)
11 An opening between cords. (7)
12 To presage the last of the wine? (7)
14 See 8 down.
15 7 down which drop their leaves easily. (4–4)
17 Levies a punishment on humor, even though it's refined. (4–4)
20 They sound as though they level (by scraping)! (6)
22 Certainly not the way of the peaceful. (7)
24 Sort of super? It's just about A-1! (Sound estimate, too!) (7)
26 A cat-bird pair dined upon slices of it. (6)
27 His work certainly shouldn't be degrading. (8)
28 Traveling exposition? (7, 4)

DOWN

2 Would have to be refined to be pure and aboveboard. (9)
3 Such things would hardly be classed as shiftless. (7)
4 Pick and choose. (4)
5 This of mind doesn't necessarily mean a mental lapse. (4, 3)
6 This might imply a regular turnover. (5)
7 A cyclic permutation would be steady. (6)
8, 14 across, and 18 down. Implying a defect in the flooring makes for a tight fit. (2, 4, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 3)
13 and 1 across. Not an amateur gentleman who picks up a *couvert* disarranged. (5, 11)
16 Certainly not the richest of Neapolitans. (9)
18 See 8 down.
19 Loiters in clubs? (7)
20 Finding fault with a corded fabric on top? (7)
21 You might find hers scattered about *the country.* (6)
23 Animal, and relatively surrounded if familiar. (5)
25 Certainly doesn't wake up and stretch. (4)

—★—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 578

ACROSS:—1 LIBERATORS; 6 ERIC; 10 OUTRAGE; 11 CARAMEL; 12 BARMAIDS; 13 NEVER; 15 RESET; 17 EUMENIDES; 19 WONDERFUL; 21 WHALE; 23 RIATA; 27 DEBITED; 28 ALIMONY; 29 EFTS; 30 LEAN SEASON.

DOWN:—1 and 25 LOOK ALIVE; 2 BETRAYS; 3 REARM; 4 and 16 THE LIFE OF THE PARTY; 5 RACKS; 7 REMOVED; 8 CELERY SEED; 9 BRAND-NEW; 14 DRAWBRIDGE; 18 MULE TRAIN; 20 and 24 NEAT BUT NOT GAUDY; 22 ARDUOUS; 24 NUDGE; 26 LYNN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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